

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

accurate, we know that slaves were meant. It is found in the decisions of the Courts, and of all the legislatures of the country, and the acquiescence of the people of the country. Mr. B. read from an opinion by Justice Story, when in the Supreme Court. He claimed that this opinion ran across the statement of his friend, that the Supreme Court did not recognize the property of man in man. He considered what he read as determining the opinion of Justice Story, that this provision was intended to enable the slaveholder to retain his fugitive slaves.

Mr. B. also referred to the "Willnot" Provision in the Ordinance of 1787—the proviso that the ordinance should not prevent the reclamation of slaves.

This proviso to the Proviso would not have been necessary, if this provision of the Constitution had not related to this question.

Mr. B. remarked upon the fact that the Convention struck out the word "justly" held to "service"—as indicating that the "service" must have referred to a legal servitude, though not "due" in the eye of justice.

Taking language as those who used it understood it, all these clauses must have referred to slaves. Contemporary practice is a rule of interpretation of Constitutions; and their concurrent action is the strongest proofs of the correctness of the interpretation.

It is a rule that the obvious meaning of language, is to be the legal rule of expounding. In its plain, obvious, common sense meaning. Constitutions are not designed for metaphysical subtleties. The people make and adopt them by the aid of common sense.

Mr. Smith says Slavery, even under the laws of the Southern States, is not a legal institution. Statutes in Virginia regard a certain class of persons as slaves to be held as chattels, &c., &c., in that and other States. Will any man stand up before a Court, and say they have been enacted statutes in reference to that which does not exist? If there is one slave in all the South, made so by their laws and in conformity to their constitutions, then there are slaves held legally—or, according to their laws.

Mr. B. instanced the statutes requiring that freemen be sold into Slavery, to pay jail fees, if they cannot prove they are free. By promising, to appear in Court, and they are made slaves by "due process" of their law.

Mr. SMITH replied in a speech of about 50 minutes, nearly all of which was devoted to an exposition of the Anti-Slavery features of the Constitution.

Mr. BURLINGHE referred to the change which had come over the country—to the fact that the framers of the Declaration of Independence were many of them slaveholders to the day of their death—that Slavery had a legal existence at the time of the Declaration of Independence—that the "fugitive" provision of the Constitution evidently referred to "laws" of the States then existing—insisted that the universality of the pro-slavery construction is sufficient evidence of its correctness—claimed Luther Martin, Rufus King, and James Wilson, in favor of this construction—that in reference to the power of "arresting" the slaves, his friend would find the Judges, the legislatures, and the mass of the people against him—insisted that Mr. Smith had begged the question, in assuming that the slave population is referred to as a part of "we the people," and therefore that they do not come in for the rights and privileges conferred—told the ground that if slaves were regarded as a part of the people, by those who made the Constitution, or those who were to be bound by it, they would be invested in the Courts, and the slaves released, that if he could show that one slave was ever made such by "due process of law" the case was made out against Mr. Smith's argument, that they were deprived of their property and rights, without that process—as to "unreasonable searches" the slaves were not regarded as a part of the people, to whom the franchises or guarantees of the Constitution were to apply—as to Republican forms of Government, that of New York is not Republican, as the women cannot vote in the frame of the Constitution regarded the Slave Governments of the States as Republican, and their understanding was the law of the case.

Mr. SMITH asked Mr. BURLINGHE if he did not wish to occupy a few minutes longer, as he could occupy but fifteen or twenty minutes.

Mr. BURLINGHE said he could not think of anything more that he wished to say in reply to Mr. Smith.

Mr. FOSTER said he would repeat, that what was wanted was an examination of the Liberty Party and of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The American Society, was the only genuine instrumentality for the cause. If we are wrong, tell us why? What have we done? What crime have we committed? Those who have heaped contumely upon us, are now with us; why not act with us as one man? Tell us why you do not stand with us? Support our papers—support our agents? When I say "us," I mean the Anti-Slavery Society. You are bound to show wherein we are wrong, if we are wrong. The object is not to get the Hon. J. A. HUNTER, our friend Mr. Smith says he cannot associate with us. Why? Because our sentiments are wrong? No. Because we admit whigs and democrats—when we compel them to help us condemn the pro-slavery action of the country. It is objected that we allow men in our Society who do not act up to our principles. Our friend Mr. Smith, says it is contrary to scripture to come out from the vile and unclean; yet he cannot co-operate with us because we admit Whigs and Democrats. Yet at the same time he cannot consent to sit in Congress with Whigs and Democrats, who are the cause of the pro-slavery action of the country. He cannot come among us, because Whigs and Democrats are there! With us, no one is bound by the majority. In the State Government, with the Whigs and Democrats is left free to act as he pleases against the majority? They can co-operate with Whigs and Democrats in Congress in State Legislatures, in Churches, anywhere in the world, except with our Society. The Whigs, Democrats, Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, all are bound to be in the Society, unless you can show some good reason why they should not. The blood of the slave will be found in your skirts, if you do not do your whole duty. I demand that you give your reasons for not being with us. Prove we are wrong, or go with us. That's my position.

Mr. SMITH continued the argument by bringing forward further Anti-Slavery provisions of the Constitution. He closed in the following language:

Alas, alas, my colored brethren, there were ever so wronged and unfortunate a people as yourselves! In the case of other persons it is held, that the Constitution is a positive, definite, clear, certain law, sufficient to fasten upon its victims the chains of Slavery. But, in your case, it is held, that the lowest inferences and vaguest implications are sufficient to secure this horrid result. No respectable lawyer would say, that by the force of such inferences and implications, a man should be deprived of his horse, or even of his dog. Nevertheless Wendell Phillips and other distinguished Abolitionists maintain that, by the force of such inferences and implications, men may be deprived of their life—for more than their life—for liberty—for liberty is more precious than life. The grave of liberty is more to be dreaded than the grave of the body. The fact, my colored brethren, that some of your earliest and most enlightened, and most self-denying friends do in effect, array themselves against you at a very vital point, is among the greatest of your calamities.

How would I like to see the people who are respectable lawyer receive the proposition that the men of the proud Anglo-Saxon race in this country, can by the force of such inferences and implications, as we have spoken of—can, by the force of a Constitution, which, to say the least, makes no express allusion to Slavery—be held in Slavery? They would scout it, with the utmost contempt. Why then, do they hold, that these are sufficient to hold in Slavery Ah, it is because these three millions are weak and powerless; and may, therefore, be contemned and outraged with impunity.

Now, the little Liberty party insists, that the Constitution does not allow our three millions of colored brethren to be held in Slavery; and it insists on this, because it insists, that the law to hold Africans in Slavery, shall be as positive and definite and stringent, as the law to hold Anglo-Saxons in Slavery.

Constitution is pro-slavery—and the prestige and the charm are gone—and he has become as weak as other men—and the public sentiment, which had hitherto braced him up, now falls away from him—and he is derided for his impotence—and now, and now, he is hated with impunity—and now, his slaves rise up around him, and successfully assert their claim to freedom.

Oh, what a sad mistake do the friends of the slave fall into, in putting the might of the Constitution into the hands of the slaveholder, instead of using that might to tie up his hands and punish him, and enable his oppressed ones to go free!

Mr. DOUGLASS continued the debate, in a speech of great force, eloquence and wit, in behalf of the views of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. REMOND followed in a stirring appeal upon the utter derogation of his rights by the American Constitution. His grandfather bared his breast to our country's foes at Lexington. He was, himself, born within sight of Bunker Hill, and almost with his hand on the sword, he would have been there to visit the city of Washington, the Capitol of this Republic, he would have been liable to be arrested and sold into bondage, unless he could prove his freedom, through a wall two feet thick! Could he support such a Constitution? Never!

Mr. WARD took the other view. He had no palliation to offer—nothing but denunciation, deep and damning to offer—for the practical construction which has been put upon the Constitution. But the Constitution itself, he regarded as an Anti-Slavery instrument. Mr. W. spoke for nearly an hour, holding the crowded hall in breathless attention, or, at least, in a state of intense interest.

[These three addresses, by Douglass, Remond and Ward—three colored men—it is safe to say, afforded as fine an intellectual repast as any of our readers have listened to for many a year. An intelligent lawyer told us, that it was a long time since he had stood upon his feet for over four hours to listen to speeches of any men; and ladies stood for hours together. No Report could give our readers an idea of the occasion; for they are all orators.]

The question on the resolutions was called. For the yeas and nays were then demanded.

Finally, on motion, the Rules were suspended, so that a vote by the audience could be taken.

THE PRESIDENT put the question on Mr. Smith's substitute, as follows:—

"1. Resolved, That the Federal Constitution should, like other laws, be subjected to legal rules of interpretation; and that, with respect to Slavery, it is seen to be not adequate to uphold any part of American Slavery, but of powers adequate to overthrow every part of American Slavery."

"2. That the man who votes for no slaveholder, and for no one who does; and for no one who does not regard the powers of the Federal Constitution as ample for the overthrow of Slavery; is, provided always, that he acknowledges no pro-slavery Church, minister to be a minister of Christ, worthy of the name, and the honor of an Abolitionist."

The substitute was carried by a vote of four or five to one.

Whereupon, the Convention adjourned.

THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

THE PRESIDENT called to order.

HENRY BOX BROWN sang a song which has been written for him, (describing his escape in a box), to the tune of "Old Ned." (Brown was in March last at Richmond, and in a box, he was taken to the States, and was sent by Express, as merchandise, to Philadelphia. He was in the box 27 hours. The affair cost Smith \$900.)

[The Reporter will state, that in giving the remarks of Mr. Foster in reference to Messrs. Giddings and Wilson, Mr. F. applied their remarks to all the out-and-out Anti-Slavery Organizations, and not by any means to himself, any further than that he was a member of one of those organizations. Giddings and Wilson said these Organizations generated the steam which moved the Anti-Slavery cause.]—*Exr.*

Prayer by Rev. S. R. WARD.

THE PRESIDENT said not less than \$100 should be raised to defray expenses.

Mr. JACKSON proposed that half an hour be devoted to the subject, and close it up in a business manner. It was done.

THE PRESIDENT said, that at the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement, it was quite common to take hundreds of dollars, at a meeting numbering only a few persons. The Hon. J. A. HUNTER, who was only a few years past, would not have given more than a few dollars for the Anti-Slavery cause. This is the spirit which succeeds. The Convention had been an admirable one in all respects, and expenses will be necessarily incurred, as every one well knows.

Mr. JACKSON, on request, made remarks, urging a liberal contribution.

The Convention, on suggestion, by a vote, expressed a desire to meet this evening in the First Presbyterian Church.

Mr. HUNTER said he would ascertain from the Trustees, whether the Convention could meet there.

THE PRESIDENT stated the popular vote of last night, and read all the Resolutions before the Convention.

Mr. FAIRBANKS did not believe the Constitution was a pro-slavery instrument; and he hoped all would unite without reference to their views on the Constitutional question.

Mr. DOUGLASS referred to the adoption of Mr. Smith's substitute, last evening, by a large majority, by a popular vote. He would repeat that vote. It is now to be settled by the Convention.

It is now to be settled by the Convention. It is the only issue between the different Radical Anti-Slavery Organizations of the country.

I need not say after what passed last evening, that I am opposed to the substitute. It takes a disunion view, in anything but an honest way. No disreputable intended; its supporters are sincere. Their position was radical for disunion, as the position of Garrison. Under the sham of upholding the provisions of the Constitution, they are waging a war against the Constitution. We want downright honesty, in dealing even with slaveholders.

Mr. WARD said he would not have to admit, we admit your views of the Constitution, but we war on that and on you. Mr. Smith's substitute is disunion, under another guise, and seeks it in a dishonest way. It will bring about disunion in a covert way, without declaring that to be the object.

Does Mr. Smith suppose any Union in 1789 would have been secured, on his construction of the Constitution? That they could not reclaim their fugitives, and that slave insurrections could not be put down by the force of the country? That was, has been, and is the Union? Is the Union the same now as then? The pretension of the Liberty Party to uphold the Union, is to pretend to uphold that which does not exist. The slaveholders know of no such Union as that which Mr. Smith and the Liberty Party support.

I hold that to swear to support a constitution which requires us to put down slave insurrections, and send back fugitive slaves, is a sin. It is a sin to swear to support that which is sin—which can require us to sin.

Mr. WARD asks us, who will alter the laws, if you can elect no one? I refer him to the admission of Daniel O'Connell to the British Parliament. He was a Catholic, and was required to abjure the Pope. He would not do it, and the Parliament was compelled by public sentiment to admit him. Mr. D. referred to the law of this State allowing a man to whip his wife with a switch as large as his thumb. Is it of any consequence? No. The moral sentiment of the time would not tolerate it. How can we, 5,000 free colored persons in Maryland, have laws to be free? Was it the laws? No. Public sentiment compelled or constrained their masters to free them. I would rather lose my right arm, than to put a vote in an American ballot box, which would have another do that which I would not do myself.

Brother WARD believes that the Supreme Court has the power to decide the laws, and that he is against it. This brings us to the point. It's all very well to talk of what is to be done by posterity. What is now to be done? There is no government, until the constitution is what it ought to be. Are we to sit all the intermediate time?

A VOICE—Resist it.

Mr. DOUGLASS: That is revolution—insurrection—no government. They must come on to our ground, while we are revolutionizing the government. If they will show me how I can get along the same time without sin, I may come along to them. Here is a great gulf, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH: Very easily bridged. (General laughter.)

Mr. DOUGLASS: I wish I could see it, if it is so; because I would like to be there. I believe the slaves would be more than a match for the enslavers, if left to themselves. LET THE UNION THEN BE DISSOLVED. I wish to see it dissolved at once. It is the union of the white people of this country, who can be summoned in their whole military power to crush the slave, that perpetuates Slavery. Dissolve the Union, and they will raise aloft their unfettered arms, and demand freedom, and, if resisted, would hew their way to Liberty. THEN BE DISSOLVED. I wish to see it dissolved at once. It is the union of the white people of this country, who can be summoned in their whole military power to crush the slave, that perpetuates Slavery. Dissolve the Union, and they will raise aloft their unfettered arms, and demand freedom, and, if resisted, would hew their way to Liberty. THEN BE DISSOLVED. I wish to see it dissolved at once. 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(Written for, and inscribed to, W. M. the younger.)

Once more he stepped into the street;
And to his lips again
Laid his long pipe of smooth, straight cane

xv.

So, Willy, let you and me be wipers
Of scores out with all men—especially pipers;
And, whether they pipe us free from rats or fro
If we've promised them aught, let us keep o
mise.

world, taking into the account the enormous amount of capital they have constantly embarked in copyrights. Moore received from this establishment £3000 for his *Lalla Rookh*, and for several years £3000 per annum, on account of his *Irish Melodies*. They also pay £600 a year for ten years for Mr. Macaulay's *History of England*, volumes 1 and 2. But it is needless to specify instances of this kind. They have in their employ about two hundred pe-

Before closing our sketch, we must, however, refer to the fact of a new book market which seems to have sprung up almost spontaneously into existence,—that of Cincinnati. Four or five large bookselling and publishing firms are there in full operation, for the supply of the great West. The pecuniary operations of two or three of these amount already to something like \$175,000 per annum: the names of Messrs. Derby & Co., James & Co., W. B. Smith & Co., will at once recur to the reader. Over one million per annum is said to be already devoted to this branch of western enterprise; and the amount must necessarily every year be increased.

of nailing was exquisite torment, and yet worse than ensued than in the actual infliction. The limbs rankled, the wounds inflamed, the local injury produced a general fever, the fever a most intense thirst; but the misery of miseries to the sufferer was while racked with agony, to be fastened to a position which did not permit him even to writhing attempt to relieve the muscles, every instinctive movement of anguish, only served to drag the tortured flesh, and wake up new and acuter pain. In this torture, which must have been continual, protracted, until advancing death began to lay it to rest, lasted on an average two or three days.

"use" on one specific occasion, when those who were invited were scarcely as cold and stiff as those who were not invited; and many a time have we oscillated between a smile and a sigh, to see the "lady of the house" who was really a very amiable being in the "general parlor," grow into something of a strange and fish-like character, as she restrained herself into a becoming and too often a false smile, and adapted her conversation to the company. How we have pined for a day when her give the last becoming arrangement to her satin dress, and with a step of nervous anxiety enter the sacred precinct to see if all were right previous to the reception of the illustrious Brother and the wealthy Joneses; and let us add, we have mischievously enjoyed the agony expressed in her face, when some thoughtless young man, in his usual way, has uttered an acrid remark, or a cutting remark, most redolent of the serpent, on the splendorously papered wall. Spirit of Christian Benevolence forgive our wickedness! but we thought it was a punishment for setting up idols, that could not be approached with confiding worship.

Cleanings from Foreign Publications

Punch's Almanac says that P—s, the brewer, m—
ing the Pope, asked his Holiness what (P—s) could
that he (the Pope) couldn't. The Pope gave it
"You can't get into the Vat-I-can," rejoined P—s

AN ERROR OF THE PRESS.—A country newspaper recording the running down of a cow on the rails said it was "cut into calves". An astonished reader waited upon the editor for what the auctioneer called "further information," and received it in the following form:—"ERRATUM.—For calves read halves."

A Sunderland captain, who was lately in Russia, received there a copy of the *Sunderland Herald*; but, as the articles relating to Hungary, Austria, or Russia were cut out by the authorities, and the amount of postage was 3s. 6d.—*London News*.

WILKES and Horne Tooke quarrelled. Tooke w
Wilkes a challenge to meet him at Brentford or Tyb
Wilkes replied :—" Rev Sir,—I have no intenti
meeting you again anywhere, and have never bee
Brentford since you preached there; but I have I
doubt of meeting you at Tyburn, ere long, in my
capacity as sheriff."

SPINDLE STATISTICS.—It appears, by statistics recently published, that there are 28,000,000 spindle work in the world. Out of these, England, including the United Kingdom, commands a force of 17,500,000; America, with all her competition, 2,000,000; Russia about the same number; France 3,000,000; and Belgium considerably less than any of the three.—*Continent of the Preston Chronicle*.

NEEDLES were first made in London by a negro in Spain, in the reign of Mary; but he dying without teaching the art, it was lost till 1666, when it was taught by Elias Grorose, a German. Insignificant as this little instrument appears, there are but few commodities which in their manufacture require more labor and provide labor for a greater number of artisans.

RURY.—It is a wife's occupation to winnow all maize of corn, to make malt, to wash and wring, to make shear corn, in time of need to her husband to fill muck wagon or dung cart, drive the plough, load corn, and such other matters; and to go or ride to market to sell butter, cheese, milk, eggs, chickens, pigs, geese, and all manner of CORN.

HOMOEOPATHY AND A WASP.—A strong, healthy country female was stung in the arm by a wasp, less than ten minutes the limbs became intensely painful, and, with the whole body from head to foot, swelled and red as scarlet. The tongue became also much enlarged, obstructed her speech, and threatened suffocation.

tion. Her brain became affected, and her sight
and indistinct. It was some days before she
roughly recovered. In this case how powerful
fect, yet how infinitely small the dose! Did the
powerful microscope ever detect the finest balance
weigh, the nicest test ever discover the odour of
ers, the marsh miasm, the infection of fever, or
venom of a wasp?—*Yeldham's Homoeopathy in Acute*
Diseases.

LOCAL AGENTS FOR THE STANDARD

DR. DAVID M. DAVIS, Woodstown, N. J.
CHARLES ATKINSON, Marian, Grant co., Ia.
J. MILLER MKIM, Philadelphia, Pa.
AMARANCY PAINE, Providence R. I.

PLINY SEXTON, Palmyra, N. Y.,
J. C. HATHAWAY, Farmington, Ontario co., N.
THOMAS M'CLINTOCK, Waterloo. "
S. HOWLAND, Sherwood's Corners, Cayuga co.,
S. STAMFORD ASHLEY, Oberlin, Ohio.
ROBERT W. MANNING, Oberlin, Ohio. "

JESSE HOLMES, New Lisbon, Columbiana co., Oh.
K. G. THOMAS, Marlborough, Stark, co.,
ISAAC LEWIS, Short Creek, Harrison co.,
E. D. HUDSON, Springfield, Mass.
AMES A. BURR, Ludlowville, N. Y.

ROBERT C. MARSHALL, Hiram, Portage co.
WILLIAM CRONK, Buffalo, "
GEORGE W. EASTON, Bridgewater, Mass.
DAVID K. COOK, Johnson's Creek, Niagara co., N. Y.
A. H. BIGELOW, Concord Mass.
L. G. THOMAS, West Winfield N. Y.

JOHN W. LYON, Hastings, Oswego co. N. Y.
CHARLES DOUGLASS, Caughenwa, "
ALEX. FOREMAN, Pulaski, "
JOHN P. DICKINSON, Cleveland "
SOLOMON PECK, Mexicoville, "
JOHN W. PECK, " "

JONATHAN WILDE, Quaker Springs, Saratoga Co.
SAMUEL MAY, jr. Leicester, Mass.

minorous train of illustrious bibliopoles, whose literary enterprises occupy a conspicuous feature in early literary history, for some of them contributed in no small degree to enrich numerically the estate of English literature. Wynkin de Worde, the able associate and successor of Caxton, having printed four hundred and eighty distinct works, while Wynke

Baudry, the republisher of the classics bearing his name,—Masson, who issues mostly medical books,—Ballière, who has a house also in London, the publisher of medical works; also Boret, Mathias, and Bachelier, who issue chiefly works of a scientific character. Didot estimated that during the first

many cases suggest that, however dead to the external world, an interior sensibility still remained. At we have the evidence of those whom disease has left at the eleventh hour, that while their supposed offerings were pitied by their friends, existence was blank. Wherever there is sensibility, virtual death

lar," and walks round it with her laced cambric which she insinuates into every crevice, to ascertain if the unhappy housemaid has done her duty exactly. Heaven preserve us from a hostess who is devoted to a "best room."

HOMEOPATHY AND A WASP.—A strong, healthy country female was stung in the arm by a wasp less than ten minutes the limbs became intensely red, and, with the whole body from head to foot, swelled and red as scarlet. The tongue became also much

d sweet dispositions evince a greater superiority
er the hasty and sensual part of mankind; but
lf-control adapts itself to the ordinary exigences of
e, and if surprised by evils with which it has not
en accustomed to measure its strength, the firmest
rve and the sunniest temper are overcome by the

room was large enough for all needed comforts, agreeable "elbow space," but perfectly appointed with upholstered repletion. Every article of furniture was mathematically placed; every chair a man was as prim and proper as a row of young ladies during the first half of the century.

E. D. HUDSON, Springfield, Mass. "
 AMES A. BURR, Ludlowville, N. Y. "
 ROBERT C. MARSHALL, Hiram, Portage co. "
 WILLIAM CRONK, Buffalo, "
 GEORGE W. EASTON, Bridgewater, Mass. "
 DANIEL S. EASTON, "

red into the world, it was mercy that disease and
may should enter too. A sick room is a school of
virtue, whether we are spectators of the mortality of
our dearest connections or are experiencing our own.

" in a brown Holland " Taglioni," with our
 tion oozing out rapidly.
 We had conceived a notion of some " Stanzas
 Autumn Sunshine," but as we glanced around

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SOLOMON PECK, Mexicoville,
JOHN WILBUR, 2d. North Easton Washington
JONATHAN WILDE, Quaken Springs, Saratoga
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